

LUCIFER.

THE LIGHT-BEARER.

PRICE 5 CENTS.

CHICAGO, ILL., FEB. 13, E. M. 304. [C. E. 1904.]

WHOLE NO. 1008

AMOR VINCIT.

BY LAURA H. EARLE.

Through devious ways and dark,
Love creeps, Love crawls or flies,
Her end alone in view.
Deceived, she turns and tries anew;
Denied, she waits another day;
Rebuffed, she smiles and wins.

A MOST UNSPEAKABLE LAW.

As soon after the assassination of President McKinley as practicable a number of the states of this Union passed laws which were directed against anarchy and Anarchists. Some of these laws were repealed practically before they were ever allowed to be printed on the statute books, the legislatures of those states having been fortunate enough to come to their senses before they allowed the foolish legislation to get imbedded in print, but some of the legislatures permitted the laws to stand, among the latter being the state of New York. And then the United States government passed a law affecting immigrants that was directed against anarchy and Anarchists, which law is still in operation. Just why the assassination of the President was an occasion for the passage of these laws it would be difficult to understand if the public were in the habit of reasoning about happenings (which it is not), for of the three assassinations of Presidents which this country has seen, not one of the Presidents was assassinated by an Anarchist. In 1865 President Lincoln was assassinated by an actor who I suppose politically was a Democrat. He was certainly a native-born American citizen. That was before anarchy was heard of. In 1881 President Garfield was assassinated by an earnest Christian Republican who believed that he was doing God's service, and the Republican party's service, because at that time it was supposed whoever was doing the Republican party's service was doing God's service, and I believe it is thought so still.

The last assassination, that of President McKinley in 1901, was accomplished, as nearly as I can find out, by a native-born American brought up in the public schools of our country, where he received part of his education, and the other part of his education was in parochial schools of the Roman Catholic Church, so he was a native-born Roman Catholic. There is no evidence whatever that he was ever associated with any group or company of Anarchists. I believe it is true that he did appear at some Anarchists' meetings and tried to make the Anarchists at those meetings believe that he was an Anarchist, but they came to the conclusion that he was not an Anarchist, but a spy of some kind that came to the meetings in order to make some kind of report. At all events, he was not associated with any group of Anarchists in this country or any other place. So he certainly was not an Anarchist. It was said at the time that he gave out that he had been instructed by Miss Emma Goldman, and you will all remember the crazy panic that struck the country as soon as Miss Goldman's name was mentioned. That was entirely untrue, as I have been carefully informed, and the probability is that the man who assassinated President McKinley never said so, and nobody knows what he did say. The assassin was immediately taken into seclusion and nobody allowed to see him, and what report came out from him was through the police. It is conceivable that the police would do all they could to associate him with the set of despised Anarchists. I repeat, it is not easy to see why special Anarchist legislation should have been framed on account of the assassination of President McKinley,

but whether reasonable or unreasonable, it was done. I am going to call your attention this morning to some of this legislation. Naturally, I will take the legislation of this state, because that should be the most interesting to us.

Section 468a of our penal code reads as follows, the act being passed in 1892: "Criminal anarchy is the doctrine that organized government should be overthrown by force or violence, or by the assassination of the executive head, or of any of the executive officials of government, or by any unlawful means. The advocacy of such doctrine either by word of mouth or writing is a felony."

There is no particular penalty attached to that section, but all felonies, unless otherwise specified, are punishable by imprisonment for seven years in state's prison. On July 4, 1776, our forefathers passed a Declaration of Independence, and they immediately began to act upon this declaration here enunciated, and in an unlawful manner by force and violence they overthrew the government of England under which they were living. But to-day, in this state, the advocacy of this doctrine announced in the Declaration of Independence is a felony—at least, that is the way it looks to me. I have read this law to you twice, and I have read these passages of the Declaration of Independence twice. I want you to think about it and see if it is not a felony to advocate these principles of the Declaration of Independence. This declaration declares as soon as a government becomes destructive of the rights of the people it is the right and duty of the people to overthrow that government—naturally by force and violence and by unlawful means, because there are no lawful means of overthrowing government. I ask you to consider whether the doctrine of the Declaration of Independence to overthrow the government is not criminal anarchy under the laws of our state, and any person who preaches that doctrine is subject to arrest and imprisonment for seven years in state's prison. That is, if Emma Goldman or Benjamin R. Tucker (I speak of these because they are publicly known as Anarchists) or anybody else should stand in a hall, especially in an obscure hall behind a beer saloon, in this state, and advocate that it is the right and duty of the people to overthrow the government when it is no longer suited to their needs, that person could be arrested and tried in this state for criminal anarchy. That is the way it looks to me; if you can figure it out any other way, then do so. If that is true, then there is a result of foolish legislation.

And it is against our principles of government that a law should be passed against any belief or doctrine, because hitherto we have been supposed to be free to advocate any kind of doctrine we please. In years past no person could be put in prison except for what he did, not for what he said; some "overt act" the law said. Like the doctrine of polygamy, any person has a right to stand on a platform in this country and advocate that a man should marry as many wives as he pleases, but if he should marry more than one wife, he could be put in prison. It is not against the law to advocate the doctrine of polygamy. Only ten or fifteen years ago this doctrine of anarchy could be advocated. Now this state has gone further and says to advocate anarchy is a crime. All peoples in all ages have believed that you have the right to overthrow government by force and violence as soon as you get the power to do so, and governments have been overthrown again and again by such means; and they will continue to be overthrown in that way, I suppose. But this doctrine in this state is declared to be criminal anarchy, punishable for

seven years in state's prison. They might as well pass a law making the belief that two and two are four criminal as to declare that the overthrow of government is criminal anarchy.

The following section says that any person who organizes or helps to organize an Anarchist meeting is punishable for not more than ten years or by fine of not more than five thousand dollars or both. So, if you belong to any society or group that teaches the doctrine that government may be overthrown by force and violence, and unlawfully, you are subject to ten years in prison and five thousand dollars' fine. At the very time that law was placed upon our statute books there was a Cuban junta in this city conspiring for the overthrow of the government of Spain in Cuba, by force and violence, and the present President of the United States was one of the most active participants in the overthrow by force and violence of the said government in Cuba. Under this law, if the law means anything at all, that man, instead of now being in the presidential chair, and the others like him, ought to be in state's prison.

I believe there is a perpetual Irish society in this city who are conspiring all the time for the overthrow of the English government. They try to encourage the people to rise up and overthrow that government, as the American colonists did in 1776. Now, all of those Irishmen who teach that the English government should be overthrown by force and violence are criminals under this law. One of our judges some time ago was talking to me about this law and the foolishness of it, and he said that there is no doubt in his mind that every member of this Irish society that is advocating the use of force to overthrow the English government could be sent to prison under this anarchy law. Such is the opinion of the judge, and that is why I call attention to it. He says the law can be applied to those persons.

Section 468d says: "Whenever two or more persons assemble for the purpose of advocating or teaching the doctrines of criminal anarchy" they can be fined \$5,000 and sent to prison for ten years. So if two of you meet and say it can ever be proper to overthrow government by force and violence, and if there happens to be a detective around upholding this law, you are liable to punishment by imprisonment. You do not need to belong to an Anarchist group. All that is required is for two of you to get together and say it is proper for the government to be overthrown by force and violence. There seem to be two kinds of anarchy. One kind advocates the use of force and the other does not.

And then, a man who rents a hall to any of these dangerous persons, knowing the purpose of the meeting, can be sent to prison for two years and fined \$2,000. Now here, in my opinion, is a law in several sections which violates one of the very first principles of our government, both state and national—namely, the right of free speech. Free speech means the right to advocate any doctrine in which one believes. It means the right that was exercised in our early days and was fought for by our forefathers. Free speech meant the right to say anything one pleased against the President or government or against the police. That right has always been supposed to be one of our choicest heritages, and it was put in the very first amendment to the United States Constitution in these words: "Congress shall make no law . . . abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the government for redress of grievances." But here is a law which says if two of you assemble peaceably to talk about the doctrine of anarchy, you will be sent to prison, and the person who allows you to talk about that doctrine in his house will be sent to prison. If that is not a violation of the old-fashioned right of free speech, I cannot imagine anything that is such a violation.

Now look at the law passed by the United States government on March 3, 1893. It is a law governing the landing of immigrants in this country. The second section in that law says that all idiots, insane persons, epileptics, paupers, persons likely to become a public charge, those afflicted with loathsome or contagious diseases, persons who have been convicted of crime, polygamists and Anarchists shall be excluded from admission to the United States. The law was changed March, 1903, by inserting the word "Anarchists." You will see that the Anarchists are put into the company of the insane, diseased and loathsome. That includes the Prince Kropotkin who came to this country just before the law was passed and whose lectures all over the

country were attended by what we call the best-educated and best-dressed people of the community. He is one of the foremost Anarchists of the world, and he could no more land in this country now than a low, diseased, insane person could land. Prince Kropotkin is distinguished in the scientific world as the author of valuable books on sociology that have nothing to do with anarchy, and he lives quietly and peaceably in England, a country that is proud of him; still, under this law, he is too dangerous and too filthy in his mind, as these other persons are in their bodies, to enter the United States. Count Tolstoi cannot land in this country because he is an Anarchist. The man who is to-day probably the most distinguished humanitarian, the most distinguished disciple of Jesus, the man who has said more on the subject of human liberty, progress and freedom than any other man living—this man cannot come to the United States; he is ranked among the diseased, immoral and criminal. His books come and we read all the anarchy he writes, but he cannot come and teach anarchy with his own mouth. Ibsen cannot come. Why? Because he said, "The State must go," but his plays come and we can stand it to go and see them. Then there is Reclus, the greatest geographer in the world; he cannot land because he, too, is an Anarchist.

John Turner, the young man who has spent the last seven or eight years in England in organizing the retail clerks into unions, cannot land in this country. Mr. Turner at his home in England is received and respected and desired, but when he set foot on the soil of this country he was arrested and thrown into prison, and is there yet, because he is an Anarchist, and because, when asked by the immigration authorities if he is an Anarchist, he was sufficiently straightforward to say, "I am an Anarchist," although he knew what the law was. Had he been sufficiently unprincipled to lie about his political and sociological beliefs, then there would have been nothing said about him, because nobody would have known whether he is an Anarchist or not.

That law also says that no person who disbelieves in or is opposed to all organized government shall be allowed to land. I saw last week in the Truth Seeker that some time ago, in a discussion between Hon. Frederic R. Coudert and Colonel Ingersoll, Mr. Coudert, who recently died, and was a Roman Catholic and a distinguished member of the New York bar, said: "When in the history of the world has thought ever been fettered? If there be a page in history upon which such an absurdity is written I have failed to find it." Well, he lived long enough to find it (but I do not know whether he found it or not), for he lived some time after the law was passed. We have found it all right, because there is a law which says a person who disbelieves in organized government shall not be allowed to land in the United States.

This United States law goes much further than our state law. The law says that if you come into the country with your mind empty on a certain subject you cannot land. That is one of the most strange laws ever passed in the history of the world. The immigrant is shut out, not because of what he believes, but for something he has not got. Nothing could be more absurd than that. Mr. Coudert said he had failed to find a law so absurd as to fetter thought. Well, here is a law more absurd; it does not fetter thought at all, but it punishes for not having a thought.

More than that, in the second paragraph of this same section it says that any person who knowingly aids or assists any such person to enter the United States, except pursuant to the rules and regulations made by the secretary of the treasury, shall be fined not more than \$5,000 or imprisoned for from one to five years, or both fined and imprisoned. That is to say, if you invite into this country a person who does not believe in organized government, you will be subject to a fine of \$5,000 or five years in prison. If a literary society in this country should invite any of those noted men to the United States the members of the society could be arrested and sent to prison.

Now, it is worse than that. You can believe in government, in the divine right of kings, in the divine right of the President or of the majority, but if you happen to belong to a society controlled by persons who do not believe in those things you can be prevented from landing in this country.

At the Manhattan Liberal Club, which meets every Friday evening on East Fifteenth street, and where all kinds of beliefs are discussed on the side of Liberalism, are some who go there

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for the purpose of upholding conservatism. If a man on the other side of the Atlantic, who does not believe in government by force, should join this society, he could not land here because opposed to organized government.

And further: I will not read you section 21, because such matter is dry and tiresome, but any alien who disbelieves in organized government can be deported from this country any time within three years after he lands. Suppose an alien from the other side should land here with the Kaiser or the Czar or the King of England in his mind, orthodox, and as stupid as they are made. Suppose after he lands here and gets a breath of what we call freedom, he gets the Emperor, Czar or King out of his brain, and he falls into the hands of one of these wicked persons who look forward to the time when war shall cease and policemen's clubs shall have been beaten into toothpicks—suppose he should begin to dream dreams that we can walk the earth without fear of being slugged by somebody in the name of government about every time we turn around; suppose he becomes the disciple of Tolstoi or Ibsen or Jesus Christ, and he says, "I would rather think than fight; I would rather do good to a man than kill him." In the meantime he has settled himself in business and married an American girl. He has not said anything about his belief to anybody, but some neighbor suspects he has lost faith in government, and writes a letter to Secretary Cortelyou or his successor in Washington, and says: "One of my neighbors who came from Russia has lost his faith in government, has become a disbeliever in organized government, and he has been here two years and eleven months." The Washington secretary orders this man arrested, and he is taken before a secret tribunal and asked, "Do you believe in government by force?" "I do not." "Then out you go. Put him on a ship and send him away." And he has not opened his mouth or done a thing.

You see what a spy and informer can do to an honest man under this law. When questioned about his belief, should he say he was an orthodox Republican or Democrat (and that might be a lie), he would not be disturbed; but if he should tell the truth he would be deported three thousand miles away from his home and family.

And, mind you, all of that power is in the hands of one man, who is at present Secretary Cortelyou. Section 38 says this law shall be enforced by the Secretary of Commerce and Labor under such rules and regulations as he shall prescribe. Another section tells how it shall be done. The secretary can send to the immigration port—New York, for example—and have the immigration commissioner select three men before whom the suspected immigrant is brought and examined. Nobody else is allowed to be present, no counsel, no friend, just himself in the secret chamber of these three men. And if they decide to deport him, he goes. If one of the three does not agree an appeal is made to the secretary in Washington, and whatever he says stands. That is what was done in the Turner case. An appeal was taken to Washington, and the next day, in the afternoon, it was dismissed. Of course I, as an attorney for Mr. Turner, knew it would be, because Secretary Cortelyou had him arrested, and the secretary would not decide against his own action.

No person in the world knows what was asked John Turner at that examination. And there is no appeal to any court. In this city an appeal was taken to a United States court on the ground that the law is unconstitutional. That is the only appeal that could be taken under the law. The habeas corpus procedure in the case of these immigrants is of no use. One judge in one case said, "The man ought to be discharged, but I cannot discharge him. I have no power to discharge him; all I can do is to send him back to the commissioner of immigration." Secretary Cortelyou has power above the circuit court or the supreme court of the United States! The power resides entirely in the secretary.

Now, did you ever hear of such a law as that in a supposed free country, placing such power in the hands of one man? In 1798 the alien and sedition laws were passed, something like this, giving power into the hands of the President of the United States—the President, mind you—to deport anybody who was supposed to be inimical to the administration then in power. What was the result of that law? The people rose in their might at the next election, overthrew that administration, and Jefferson was made President of the United States.

John Turner, down on Ellis Island, twice a day is allowed to take a walk to get air. Down in the basement of the building where he is confined, where the furnaces are, there are three steel cages or cells, in one of which Mr. Turner passes his time. The front of the cells is grated just like the animal cages in the zoo. He sits behind those bars, and a man sits near by all day long and watches him. I said, "Mr. Commissioner, Mr. Turner is a gentleman and he would not leave the island. Why not give him more freedom?" The commissioner turned to Mr. Turner and said, "You cannot have that freedom because you are an Anarchist." I said, "What injury can he do? He cannot blow up anything because he has nothing to blow up with." Mr. Turner is pleased to have the watchman sit there and keep him company and they are becoming friends. A caged animal and his keeper always become good friends. And there they are.

This most unspeakable law has been passed, this man is caged and kept there, and it has not made a ripple upon the surface of the sea of freedom. The Evening Post had an editorial about him when he was first arrested. The New York Independent had a splendid editorial about him several weeks ago, calling attention to the foolishness of the law. The Daily News of this city had a magnificent editorial on the subject. A magazine called the Outlook went so far as to say that they think the law is inexpedient. I wrote this magazine calling attention to some mistakes they made about it. No other paper, to my knowledge, has taken the matter up, except the Truth Seeker, which is a crank paper and is read by comparatively few persons. The Truth Seeker has, however, carried on a splendid crusade against the law.

On the other hand, the New York Times has opposed everybody who opposes the law, and the rest of the papers have kept silent about it. That is, in this land where we are supposed to have free thought there is a law which has taken away the right of thought in this country, and Americans do not care. The "ignorant foreigners" of whom we read in the newspapers do care, because they have filled Cooper Union full twice in protest against this law. This very protest has come from "the ignorant foreigners," as we say, who do not know what liberty is. These foreigners have come here from places where they have not had liberty, and they are as keen now for liberty as our forefathers were. So the only people among us, with rare exceptions, who hunger for liberty are the ones who came from what we call the despotic governments on the other side. Why is it that the American people are not in a ferment about such laws as these? It is because the laws are against the liberties of Anarchists. If the American people get what they want for themselves, they do not care anything about the same thing for other peoples. But let me tell you when you are not as much concerned about the rights and liberties of a thief or an Anarchist or a negro or an insane person as you are about your own, you have not love of liberty and do not know what liberty is.

This law, naturally, leads to acts of official tyranny and injustice. Some time ago some of us went out to Paterson, New Jersey, to hold a meeting, soon after the Cooper Union meeting, at which time Mr. Edward M. Shepard, Mr. John DeWitt Warner and others protested against this law. Our object in going to Paterson was to try to raise some money to carry this Turner case to the United States supreme court. The stair steps leading up to the hall where we were to speak were literally covered over with policemen. Mr. Bolton Hall, one of the party, hunted up the mayor of the city and the mayor said this: "That law has been passed by the Congress of the United States and you cannot have any meeting in this town to discuss it." You see what this law leads to! Mr. Hall said, "Do you mean you are going to prevent a meeting here called for the purpose of discussing the meaning and effect of a law?" Then the mayor said, "If you people should hold a meeting in this town you would bring about chaos. We know what we are about. Those Anarchists held a meeting in that hall not long ago, and they laughed at our policemen. I am not going to have my policemen laughed at." And the mayor continued: "I know what you people want. If you could have your way, we could not rule any more." These were his exact words. The next day the Paterson papers praised the mayor for violating the law, every law affecting the situation, for there never has been a time when it was forbidden in the United States to hold peaceable discussion. This mayor was

LUCIFER.

THE LIGHT-BEARER.

MOSES HARMAN, EDITOR AND PUBLISHER.

PUBLISHED EVERY WEEK AT 500 FULTON STREET, CHICAGO, ILL.

Application Filed for Entry at the Chicago Postoffice as Second-Class Mail Matter.

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION.

One copy, one year.....\$2.00 One copy, six months.....\$1.00
Two copies to one address, one year.. 2.25 Two copies to one address, six mos.. 1.15
One copy, three months.....50 cents Single copies.....5 cents
Hereafter Lucifer will not be sent to subscribers after expiration of subscription except by special request. Please compare number on your wrapper with whole number of paper, and if your subscription is about to expire notify us if you wish to continue to receive Lucifer.

EASTERN REPRESENTATIVE:

E. C. WALKER, 244 WEST 143D STREET, NEW YORK CITY.

LUCIFER: ITS MEANING AND PURPOSE.

LUCIFER—The planet Venus; so called from its brightness.—Webster's Dictionary.

LUCIFEROUS—Giving light; affording light or the means of discovery.—Same.

LUCIFIC—Producing light.—Same.

LUCIFORM—Having the form of light.—Same.

The name Lucifer means Light-Bringing or Light-Bearing, and the paper that has adopted this name stands for Light against Darkness—for Reason against Superstition—for Science against Tradition—for Investigation and Enlightenment against Credulity and Ignorance—for Liberty against Slavery—for Justice against Privilege.

THIRD SERIES. VOL. VIII. NO. 7.

METHODS OF THE POSTOFFICE DEPARTMENT.

In compliance with the order received from the Postal Department we made application a few weeks ago for readmission of Lucifer to the second-class rate of postage. Since that time we have deposited money to cover the postage at the rate of 1 cent a copy (which money will be refunded if the department decides in our favor). We have just received the following letter:

CHICAGO, Feb. 13, 1904.

Publisher Lucifer the Light-Bearer, Chicago, Ill.—Sir:

I am advised by the department that it is unable to determine from the copy submitted with the application for admission of your publication to the second class of mail matter whether your publication now conforms in character to the requirements of the law. It appears to be "designed primarily for advertising purposes," which, if it be a fact, bars admission at the subsidized second-class rates.

A decision in the case will therefore be deferred to give you an opportunity to submit copies of the next two issues of the publication.

In connection with your case I am directed to ascertain and report to the department what relation, if any, the Stockham Publishing Company of 70 Dearborn street, Chicago, Ill., bears to the book-selling business of the publisher of Lucifer the Light-Bearer. It is noted that many of the publications formerly advertised for sale by this publisher are now offered in the columns of Lucifer the Light-Bearer by the Stockham Publishing Company.

Upon receipt of copies of your publication of the issues of February 4th and 11th the case will be given further consideration. Kindly send in addition thereto one copy of each issue of your publication to the superintendent second-class matter, post-office. Respectfully,

F. E. COYNE, Postmaster.

To which I have replied as follows:

F. E. Coyne, Postmaster, Chicago, Ill. Dear Sir:

Yours received, and in reply will say that there is no business connection between the Stockham Publishing Company and M. Harman. The Stockham Publishing Company has been doing business in Chicago for years; was in business before Lucifer came to Chicago. We have advertised and sold the Stockham books on commission. When we told the business manager that we could no longer do so, he authorized us to advertise some of

their books, agreeing to pay for the space. This company advertises books in other papers, and I understand sells a large number. Certainly our advertising comprises a very small part of their business. If it is ruled that a firm cannot advertise in any paper which it chooses, merely because the publishers of that paper formerly advertised those books in its own name, I think the ruling will be a surprise to many and that it would be hard to convince Lucifer readers that it is not a made-to-order ruling.

Now, to put a stop to this long-drawn-out affair, if possible, the department may pass on the next issue of Lucifer, which will not contain any of our advertising. We will withdraw this bone of contention, though under protest; for if Lucifer is not allowed such advertising no other paper should be—and it is plainly to be seen that such is not the case. Lucifer is not, and never has been, published primarily for advertising purposes. It has never had a sufficiently large circulation to make the advertising "pay" to any great extent, as you have had the opportunity to know, by inspection of Lucifer's cash-book.

The issues of February 4th and 11th contain exactly the same advertising—or nearly the same—as that contained in the issue submitted to you, so of course it would do no good to send them. We had supposed that the proportion of advertising of our own was sufficiently small to satisfy the department, but as it seems it is not, we will, as previously stated, take out all except advertisements paid for by the advertisers, and hope we will thereby satisfy the department.

Yours truly,

LILLIAN HARMAN,

For M. HARMAN.

Before the order for application for re-entry was received at Chicago I wrote to Mr. Madden, saying that we were willing to comply with the rulings regarding advertising, if we could find out what they were, and asking him to tell us what proportion of the advertising space a publisher could use for his own purposes, if he could use any. The reply was as follows:

WASHINGTON, D. C., Jan. 30, 1904.

Mr. M. Harman, Publisher Lucifer the Light-Bearer, 500 Fulton street, Chicago, Ill.—Sir:

The department is in receipt of your communication dated the 2d instant—received at the department Jan. 25—in relation to the publication entitled "Lucifer the Light-Bearer."

In reply thereto you are informed that the question as to whether a publication is "designed primarily for advertising purposes" is one of fact, and will be determined in each case from the evidence.

It is not the province of the department, nor will it undertake to enter into details as to how a publication should be modified to meet the requirements of the law, but a decision as to its admissibility to the mails at the subsidized second-class rates of postage will be rendered purely upon the facts in the case.

On Jan. 19 the postmaster at Chicago, Ill., was authorized to accept an application for readmission of Lucifer the Light-Bearer to the second class of mail matter, under the provisions of section 441, P. L. & R., which requires a deposit of money sufficient to cover postage at the third-class rate on all mailings pending action by the department. Respectfully,

EDWIN C. MADDEN,

Third Assistant Postmaster General.

If the decision were rendered "purely upon the facts in the case," as Mr. Madden says, the decision would certainly be in our favor, for it is not true that Lucifer is published either primarily or secondarily for advertising purposes. The best of evidence was in the hands of the postal authorities when they had possession of our books, for they saw that the book sales were small and that nearly every cent received was expended in defraying the publishing expenses of the paper, which should be evidence that the paper is published primarily and altogether for the dissemination of the ideas printed in its pages.

Mr. Madden says it is not the province of the department to enter into details as to how a publication should be modified. Why not? What is the function of the postal officials if not to tell under what conditions mail will be transmitted? If a paper prints lottery advertisements its publishers are informed

that they must comply with the regulations to the extent of leaving out such advertisements. If there is no definite rule in regard to advertising it is left in the power of the administration to permit papers friendly to it to do that which others are forbidden to do. Why should Lucifer be denied the right to advertise, when papers which send tons through the mails where we send pounds are permitted to be actually published for the money made by advertising? The department doubtless has the power to suppress Lucifer, but it has not the power to suppress these questions in the minds of the people.

As an illustration of how the postal system is left to the discretion of the various officials, instead of being regulated by rules that any one can know and understand, I will give our experience in regard to the premium, "The Prodigal Daughter," which we formerly gave. When the former superintendent of second-class mails, W. B. Getty, was in office here, he told me that it was admissible to advertise and give "The Prodigal Daughter" with three months' trial subscriptions, and we continued doing so up to a few months ago, when we withdrew the offer. A few subscriptions came in about the time the offer was withdrawn, and afterward as well, and the paper was sent to them. When I took the letters down to prove subscription list the last time I was told by the assistant superintendent that these names could not be counted as legitimate subscribers, and we would have to pay postage of a cent a copy on them, even if the others were admitted. So it would seem that it depends on the opinion of the official, instead of on the facts in the case, for the facts of the offer were precisely the same in both instances.

We have been informed that Mr. Madden has in his possession a number of letters demanding the suppression of Lucifer. So far as I am aware, Lucifer is not sent to any one who does not want it. Certainly it is not knowingly sent after it is ordered discontinued to any address. It would seem that those who do not desire to read it are not obliged to do so, while those who do want it should not be deprived of it because in opinion of others it should not be read. We are also informed that every issue of Lucifer is being read by the local inspector, and that any issue that he does not approve of will be suppressed, as was that of Dec. 17. As we do not know the gentleman, and are therefore unacquainted with his tastes in literature, we may not be able to please him, so we may at any time be deprived of the fruit of our labor, and our subscribers be—well, I remembered just in time of whom I was speaking. Of course, our servants never do anything that could be designated by the word I was about to use, so I must not say it. The subscribers of Lucifer may perhaps be able to fittingly characterize such suppressions.

LILLIAN HARMAN.

The court has upheld the decision of the postal department in the case of Helen Wilms and has found her guilty of fraudulent use of the mails in claiming to heal by means of "absent treatment." The bare announcement in the dailies is all we have learned of the matter.

Photographs of Moses Harman, taken in San Francisco and contributed by the photographer to be sold for the benefit of Lucifer, may be ordered of Moses Harman. See address in another column. Price, 25 cents. (N. B.—Lucifer is not published primarily to advertise these pictures!)

The New York Truth Seeker has been denied Canadian mail privileges, and its northern subscribers must go without the paper. It may be seen from this that government control of the mails is an excellent thing—for the government. But the people? Oh, never mind the people.—Americus in Free Society.

A suspicious parent makes an artful child.—Thomas C. Halliburton.

EXPLANATORY.

It is a somewhat difficult position to have the responsibility at present thrust upon me of deciding the course to be taken and the things to be said at this critical moment, in the absence of the editor and proprietor. Of course, I try to do the best I can, but as no two brains can think exactly alike it is not reasonable to suppose that everything is as it would be were he present. When he returns he may change many things. In the meantime I can only try to manage as well as I can under the circumstances. That I do not succeed in pleasing everybody (and I would be one of the wonders of the world if I could!) is evidenced by the following letter:

"You beheaded my little effort, leaving out the best part, and failed to acknowledge the receipt of the money order. Why did you discriminate against me? Again, you treated with silent contempt my friendly address to your father and yourself, and why? If your father had been at the helm my little piece would have been welcomed."

When letters are not acknowledged as they should be it is not because I mean to treat them with silent contempt. It is simply because in trying to do at least two women's work—that is, to get Lucifer out every week, and also to do nearly all the work of a large house and household—many of the things that should be done are left undone. I am sorry, but it is a fact, nevertheless. And in editing matter for Lucifer, and particularly in the short-letter department, I must use my own judgment as to what is most important. That my opinion is not always that of the writers' may be unfortunate, and perhaps they in my position would do much better; but the conditions cannot be changed just at present.

I make this lengthy explanation, thinking that perhaps others may feel offended as this correspondent evidently does. This must be my explanation and apology to all such friends.

L. H.

Mr. M. Harman's present address is care of E. Secrest, 1011 Lincoln avenue, San Jose, Cal.

THE DISCRIMINATION OF THE CENSOR.

"Where freedom slowly dwindles down,
From President to President."

The latest move of Madden upon the free press of America is the depriving of Lucifer, of Chicago, of second-class privileges through the mails. This act was claimed to be based upon the publication by Lucifer of obscene matter; it is noteworthy, however, that the edition seized contained printed matter commenting upon the action of the government in the arrest and detention of John Turner, the Anarchist, because of his political opinions. True to the cowardly policy adopted in Washington, the small publications advocating views opposite to those advocated by the administration are strangled. The large papers doing the same thing are unnoticed. No more biting criticisms could possibly be written than appear in the metropolitan dailies, but they are not molested in the least. Far indeed have we departed from the traditions of our fathers! We stand by and see the small nations of the earth oppressed: how can we say a word, when we are doing the same ourselves? And in that we have permitted the oppression of others in the name of the American people, our own liberties are being taken from us bit by bit. The beginning is being made upon papers which oppose the actions of the present administration and which have limited financial backing. As rapidly as possible the system of espionage will be extended until we shall all have to emulate Wilshire and move to a monarchy to obtain the liberty denied us in a republic. In other countries, where the people have gained, inch by inch, what measure of freedom they enjoy, they watch it jealously and do not suffer any encroachments upon it. Were it not that we already know all there is to be known, and, still worse, know that we know it, we might well profit by their example.—The Co-Operator.

LEGITIMATING THE RACE.

Adam and Eve have been married by a parson at last. It happened in Switzerland last year, and the high contracting parties were the famous Adam and Eve of the Passion Play. The marriage lines of the first Adam and Eve have never been found, but the world wags on just the same.—The Worker (Australia).

OUR POSTAL DESPOTISM.

[The following is a very imperfect synopsis of the ten minutes' talk of Mrs. Lockwood-Nevins at the "Meeting of Protest" against the action of the postoffice department in denying second-class rates to certain reform papers, notably Freedom and Lucifer, which meeting was held in Pythian Castle, San Francisco, Jan. 24, 1904.]

In the early days of civilization there were no post roads nor posts. As none but the king and his courtiers could read or write, there was little need for such things, but as civilization advanced the king and his courtiers compelled the people to build roads and establish posts.

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In the course of time, however, the people wrested from the king the roads and postoffice system, claiming the right to the free use of these without paying tribute to any one.

But while the power over the roads and the postal service is no longer in the hands of the hereditary monarch, there has arisen of late years a new kind of king, the "Almighty Dollar," who now with his courtiers reigns supreme, not only in the postoffice, but in all other branches of what ought to be the people's government. Hence the suppression of reform papers, through unjust discriminations by the Postmaster General and his assistants.

As long ago as twenty years I was told that no article criticizing adversely the people of wealth could be published in any paper of note in New York City.

In Healdsburg, Cal., a friend, a Freethinker, complained to me that his articles were not published as he wrote them, and that when he told the editor he would not write more for his paper if his articles could not appear as written, the editor said he was exceedingly sorry, but that the matter must pass through the hands of the censor, and when asked who the censor was he replied, "Rev. Mr. So-and-So."

It is well known in San Francisco business centers that there are never enough postoffice clerks during business hours; yet our postal rates are very high, as compared with those of other countries, where parcels are carried by post. And now the rich representatives of the Dollar King, the bankers, are not satisfied. In their late convention in this city these bankers asked that much of the business now done by the postoffice should be transferred to the express companies—one of the branches of the banking and railroad corporations.

While the postoffice department cannot afford to hire clerks enough to give the people of San Francisco prompt service, it can afford to pay the railroad companies enough money for the hire of cars to pay for the building of such cars new every year.

"We the people" established this government, but the power of concentrated wealth has established the present condition of things. What we want to learn is how to establish a system by which not wealth, but the people, shall own and operate the powers of government—for the workers, the producers, not for the privileged few. The Socialistic system, the Co-Operative Commonwealth, alone offers such a plan. All thinkers can see that public ownership under capitalistic control can only make our bondage heavier. A pointer is seen in the fact that legislators and judges—servants of corporate wealth—make the striking of government employes a crime!

A bill now before Congress proposes the purchase of the roads, making a bonded debt of \$15,000,000,000, to run fifty years, on which debt the people would have to pay interest.

How like you, my friends, the idea of being taxed on everything you eat, drink or wear to pay the interest on such a debt to capitalists whose roads were never built by their own, but by the people's money?

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If a tree that bears no fruit should be cut down, what should be done with a tree that bears an annual crop of hunger, suffering and death for the many in order that there may be wealth, luxury and power unlimited for the few?

A MOST UNSPEAKABLE LAW.

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 51.

the only anarchist in town that night, in a bad sense of the word.

It is said that an elephant is afraid of nothing but a mouse. Emerson in his essay on "Compensation" says that if government grows more and more powerful, it is because of the growth of fear that sits on its breast. But why should we be afraid or fear? For the United States government to be frightened by the presence of John Turner in this country is like an elephant being frightened by a mouse. If everything be all right in our government, why fear that John Turner could overthrow it? If the great mass of the common people are being benefited by our government, if nothing better can be thought of or spoken of than our government, then let us have it discussed, and the more it is discussed the more our sense of freedom and right will come out. What are they afraid of? If afraid, it is because they know there is something that is rotten about this government.

What is the effect of such laws as these to accomplish the purpose desired? They have a contrary effect. They make Anarchists. They turn people into Anarchists who before had no thought of being Anarchists. The Anarchist tells you that government is the government of the many for the benefit of the few. Had Mr. Turner been allowed to land and travel up and down the land, making speeches to the small audiences that he could get together, audiences of a few laboring people here and there, he would have been unheard of by the general public. But when they arrested him and put him in that cage the attention of eighty million people was called to that immigration law. And every day they hold him in prison is increasing the number of Anarchists in the United States. It is like all other attempts made by State or Church to suppress what they object to. The agitation caused is the food on which that grows that they would suppress. It is strange that they cannot learn a lesson! The more truth is opposed, the more it persists and grows. If the government is an evil you cannot prevent the people from finding it out some day or other. If you do not want government overthrown by force and violence, then let the people think and speak, because it surely will be so overthrown in time if they do not have this right of free thought and free speech.—Hugh O. Pentecost.

John Turner of England is incarcerated in a little cell on Ellis Island, New York. He has committed no crime, yet is treated worse than most criminals. Secretary Cortelyou is trying to have him sent back to England on account of his opinion that society could exist without a formal government. Whether you agree with Turner's opinions or not, help to rebuke the tyranny which would destroy free speech in America and would inaugurate a system of persecution for opinion's sake. The liberties of all are involved in this. A defense committee has been formed to carry the case to the supreme court. The eminent lawyer and champion of justice, Clarence Darrow, will act as counsel for Turner. Help the cause by sending what you can afford to the treasurer of the committee, Dr. E. B. Foote, Jr., 120 Lexington avenue, New York, N. Y.—The Demonstrator.

The primitive, uncultured man worshiped external objects in love and in fear, ascribing to them quasi-human powers and feelings. There is the germ of religion.—F. Harrison.

LIBERTY OUR NATIONAL SCAPEGOAT.

A large popular error prevails in this country with regard to the status (not a misprint for statue) of Liberty. We are educated to believe that Liberty is a sort of divinity to which Americans pay homage both in their private capacity as citizens and officially through their public servants (so-called because they are masters). Ever since I reached a position where I could take notice the impression that there is a mistake somewhere has been growing on my mind. There is no character known to fiction that has been getting into disrepute faster in the past thirty years than Liberty. I have not the space nor the memory to name all the offenses she has been charged with in that period, nor the number of times she has been swatted by her adorers. It is the custom to approach her with flattery, and then, when near enough, to deliver a blow at her vitals. Our way with her

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is like the way of the heathen with his god. The heathen addresses fair words to his idol and tells what he expects it to do for him. He generally wants it to reward him or punish his enemies. If disappointed, he knocks the image over and drags it in the mud. If anything happens "in our midst," if somebody does a thing we might do ourselves but don't think he ought to do, we say there ought to be a law passed, there is too much liberty in this country. We get the law and Liberty gets it—in the neck. Somebody breaks the law because it is oppressive, whereupon we reaffirm that there is too much liberty, and pass another law. It is one of those endless chains, or vicious circles; or whatever you call the thing that extends itself indefinitely; and with every extension Liberty is pinched again. She is the oldest offender on the blotter. Too much liberty permits us to live over Sunday and breathe. It enables us to print our thoughts and send them everywhere—except to Canada. It separates husbands and wives who otherwise might live in the harmony of a cat and a dog in the same kennel. Too much liberty allowed disbelief in government which denies Liberty, and Congress celebrates a crime against the liberty of life and the pursuit of happiness by enacting legislation against said disbelief, which law creates more unbelievers in government and proves that the disbelief is justified. But why proceed? I have accomplished the purpose of this brief note if, by showing that all the ills we endure are attributable to Liberty and too much of it, I have started the reader on a line of thought calculated to bring him to the conclusion I have indicated, that Liberty is not the American goddess or divinity, but the local and national scapegoat that we load our sin on and drive into the wilderness. And the sins we load her with are our own offenses against her.—G. E. M. in Truth Seeker.

HUMAN PROGRESS DUE TO SOCIAL HEREDITY.

In an article in Lucifer No. 1005 on "Spencer's Social Philosophy," R. B. Kerr says: "Everything rests on one assumption. It must be supposed that our habits and customs, acquired during our lives, can be transmitted by heredity to our descendants. Without this accumulation by heredity each man would start just where his father did."

This is the vital error of his argument. Human progress does not depend upon physical heredity, but upon what may be termed social heredity. That certain tendencies and physical capabilities are transmitted by descent is true. But by far the greatest effect of the step in advance which the father and mother have made is transmitted by them to their child after the latter's birth through the force of example and teaching. While physical characteristics or improvements can be transmitted only from two persons to their offspring, the results of social advancement come to a rising generation from every one with whom they are brought in contact or who can influence their lives or thoughts.

It has the capacity for transmitting social progress which has led to the enormous differentiation in the human as distinguished from the other animals. It might be that the capacity for building dams and the knowledge how to build them is transmitted solely by heredity among the beavers, although it seems likely that even they learn from what they see of work already done. But the Brooklyn bridge was not built by inherited instincts; it is the result of social progress transmitted by mathematics and the mechanical arts.

Biology is useful in indicating the probable course of physical development, but biology is only one part of sociology. The question as to how we acquired our present physical shapes and powers is of much less importance to us than the question as to how we can improve our social relationships and thereby add to our individual happiness. The human race has apparently reached a stage in evolution where it adapts itself to environments by means of mental processes which invent external aids, rather than through changes in physical structure.

It is worth noting that from a biological standpoint Herbert Spencer at the age of eight was one of the unfit. Had he been sent to a public school and allowed to grow up with as little training as most children receive, he would probably have been an average individual. The training he received, more than his physical structure, made him a great philosopher.

New York.

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We are always glad to receive calls from friends visiting the city. Take the Lake street elevated, stop at Ashland avenue, walk one block east, then one block north. Or take Fulton street electric car west and stop at St. John's place, alighting in front of our house. The Lake street electric and Paulina street cars also pass within a block of our residence.

Maud Starnes, Kallispell, Mont.: I hear that the postoffice authorities have been paying you particular attention, so I infer your paper is of unusual worth. I have never read it. Inclosed find \$1, for which please send Lucifer to me for the length of time for which this sum will pay.

Mrs. C. S., Pomeroy, O.: Inclosed find \$1.25. The dollar is to pay the extra postage and the 25 cents for extra paper under same cover. I feel certain a fair, honest investigation of the paper will only benefit it. People have been made to suffer by persecution, but a good cause always grows and flourishes on it. You have my sympathy, and so far as I am able you will have my help. I have never seen anything in Lucifer that a sensible, pure-minded woman might not safely read.

Mrs. Emma R. Slater, 232 West Seventeenth street, Los Angeles, Cal.: Can you give me the address of the lady that has founded a colony in San Luis Obispo or Kern county, California, which I have heard called the Herron Colony? I understand it is founded on Professor Herron's ideas regarding marriage, etc. I am very desirous of meeting some people who have made a study of problems that are perplexing to me.

[Perhaps some of our readers may be able to give Mrs. Slater the desired information.]

Mrs. A., Colorado: Just as soon as possible I will send on the \$2 for a year's subscription to Lucifer. What with fighting the various persecutions "the powers that be" indulge in against us, Anarchists are not able to accumulate the "almighty dollar" to any great extent. I am free and always have been so. It is my idea that any woman could be equally so if she only had the desire for freedom in her own heart. I have a dear friend who is tyrannized over by a brutal husband, yet when I have presented her with copies of Lucifer she refuses to read them, all of which leads me to remark that no one can succeed unless he has allies within the breast of another.

Leo Rosenthal, Paterson, N. J.: "What is there in a name?" asked the great bard, but because of the name of your publication I long hesitated to write to you. I am not a churchman, and, as might be said, not afraid of the devil himself; but did not want to make the acquaintance of Lucifer. Having read that Mr. Madden is denying you second-class rates, I was convinced that there is something good in Lucifer. I believe that Mr. Madden is prejudiced against the tendency of your magazine rather than its name. I am anxious to make the acquaintance of Lucifer.

[Mr. Rosenthal will see, on examination of this paper and consideration of the meaning of the word Lucifer, that there is no connection between our name and the orthodox devil.—L. H.]

Mrs. M., Dakota: You will find inclosed \$2 for Lucifer and "Karezza." Please begin my subscription with Jan. 1, as I want the whole year's papers. I am the Miss M. from Michigan who ordered the pamphlets from you last Spring. I got a position in a school out here through the few lines from my letter which you published in Lucifer. I have had the pleasure of meeting four noble men through the means of that little extract. And the glory of it all is that I am the wife of one of those men. If the men I have met are samples of your liberals, thank God for the doctrine that will make such men. I have come in contact with conventional, moral men all my life, but I have not met even one who could equal these men in truth and purity. It would be utterly impossible for me to live a good, true, wholesome life under the conventional marriage system. Now I can live my normal, natural life and still be mistress of myself. Oh, that seems glorious to me! I am truly grateful for the help you have been to me through your paper.

"My thoughts are murder to the State and involuntarily go plotting against her."—Thoreau.

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Mrs. Emma R. Slater, 232 West Seventeenth street, Los Angeles, Cal.: Can you give me the address of the lady that has founded a colony in San Luis Obispo or Kern county, California, which I have heard called the Herron Colony? I understand it is founded on Professor Herron's ideas regarding marriage, etc. I am very desirous of meeting some people who have made a study of problems that are perplexing to me.

[Perhaps some of our readers may be able to give Mrs. Slater the desired information.]

Mrs. A., Colorado: Just as soon as possible I will send on the \$2 for a year's subscription to Lucifer. What with fighting the various persecutions "the powers that be" indulge in against us, Anarchists are not able to accumulate the "almighty dollar" to any great extent. I am free and always have been so. It is my idea that any woman could be equally so if she only had the desire for freedom in her own heart. I have a dear friend who is tyrannized over by a brutal husband, yet when I have presented her with copies of Lucifer she refuses to read them, all of which leads me to remark that no one can succeed unless he has allies within the breast of another.

Leo Rosenthal, Paterson, N. J.: "What is there in a name?" asked the great bard, but because of the name of your publication I long hesitated to write to you. I am not a churchman, and, as might be said, not afraid of the devil himself; but did not want to make the acquaintance of Lucifer. Having read that Mr. Madden is denying you second-class rates, I was convinced that there is something good in Lucifer. I believe that Mr. Madden is prejudiced against the tendency of your magazine rather than its name. I am anxious to make the acquaintance of Lucifer.

[Mr. Rosenthal will see, on examination of this paper and consideration of the meaning of the word Lucifer, that there is no connection between our name and the orthodox devil.—L. H.]

Mrs. M., Dakota: You will find inclosed \$2 for Lucifer and "Karezza." Please begin my subscription with Jan. 1, as I want the whole year's papers. I am the Miss M. from Michigan who ordered the pamphlets from you last Spring. I got a position in a school out here through the few lines from my letter which you published in Lucifer. I have had the pleasure of meeting four noble men through the means of that little extract. And the glory of it all is that I am the wife of one of those men. If the men I have met are samples of your liberals, thank God for the doctrine that will make such men. I have come in contact with conventional, moral men all my life, but I have not met even one who could equal these men in truth and purity. It would be utterly impossible for me to live a good, true, wholesome life under the conventional marriage system. Now I can live my normal, natural life and still be mistress of myself. Oh, that seems glorious to me! I am truly grateful for the help you have been to me through your paper.

"My thoughts are murder to the State and involuntarily go plotting against her."—Thoreau.

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